

## Message Text

PAGE 01 TOKYO 16066 121034Z

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S E C R E T TOKYO 16066

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, IAEA, JA

SUBJ: GOJ DECISION ON NPT RATIFICATION

REF: A. TOKYO 14947

B. TOKYO 16065

SUMMARY: DURING CONVERSATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER PM TANAKA'S SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT GOJ WOULD SEEK RATIFICATION OF NPT, HIGH LEVEL GOJ FIGURES DISCUSSED IAEA AND NPT DEVELOPMENTS AND ACDA DEPUTY DIRECTOR WHICH PROVIDED BACKGROUND FOR ASSESSING TANAKA'S MOVE. WITH SAFEGUARDS ISSUE PROBABLY OVERCOME, TANAKA APPARENTLY DECIDED TO UTILIZE DIET INTERPELLATIONS TO MAKE STATEMENT AND CIRCUMVENT OPPOSITION BOTH WITHIN LDP AND CABINET (PARTICULARLY NAKASONE) AND SEEK PUBLIC SUPPORT. DECISION MAY ALSO REFLECT CONCERN OVER LONG-TERM SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS SHOULD JAPAN NOT MOVE POSITIVELY WITH OTHER IMPORTANT NATIONS ON NPT. DESPITE REMAINING HURDLES IN OBTAINING RATIFICATION, PROPONENTS OF NPT ARE OPTIMISTIC THAT RATIFICATION WILL TAKE PLACE AT LATEST PRIOR TO REVIEW CONFERENCE IN 1975. END SUMMARY.

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 16066 121034Z

1. SUBJECT OF NPT RATIFICATION HAS COME UP IN NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS HELD IN TOKYO BY ACDA DEPUTY DIRECTOR ZURHELLEN AND EMBASSY OFFICERS. CONTACTS INCLUDED FONOFF VICE MINISTER HOGEN AND, SEPARATELY, OFFICERS OF UN BUREAU AND NA AFFAIRS

BUREAU, VICE MINISTER OF SELF DEFENSE AGENCY SHIMADA PLUS CIVILIAN AND UNIFORMED OFFICIALS, MITI MINISTER NAKASONE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR KAWASHIMA OF NUCLEAR MATERIAL CONTROL CENTER AND OTHERS. TALKS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN CONTEXT OF PERIOD IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT IN DIET BY PRIMIN TANAKA OF INTENT TO SEEK APPROVAL OF RATIFICATION IN CURRENT DIET SESSION (ENDING APRIL 1974).

2. PRIMIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT HAS CLEARLY MADE FOR CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE. TWO DAYS BEFORE, NORTH AMERICAN BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL OKAWARA IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT RATIFICATION WOULD BE RAISED BEFORE FALL 1974. HE SAID THAT PROBLEM WAS POLITICAL ONE WITHIN LDP, CENTERED ON OLD GUARD RIGHTWING STALWARTS SUCH AS KAYA OKINORI. ALTHOUGH THESE PEOPLE ARE IN SMALL MINORITY, OKAWARA SAID, THEY STILL HAVE SOME INFLUENCE AND TANAKA IS WARY OF CONFRONTING THEM IN PERIOD BEFORE UPPER HOUSE ELECTION. MOREOVER, THESE MEN HAD OPPOSED RECOGNITION OF PEKING AND BREAKING OF RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN AND WERE STILL SMARTING UNDER THAT DISAPPOINTMENT. WHILE HAVING NO INTENTION AT PRESENT TO SEEK NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR JAPAN, THEY WANT TO PRESERVE NUCLEAR OPTION FOR FUTURE AND SO OPPOSE NPT.

3. ALL INTERLOCUTORS AGREED THAT SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT WITH IAEA WAS ON TRACKS AND NO LONGER MAJOR OBSTACLE TO RATIFICATION. SEVERAL MENTIONED THAT JAPANESE CCD AMBASSADOR NISHIBORI HAD MADE DETERMINED EFFORT IN VISIT TO TOKYO LAST WEEK TO ALERT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO DESIRABILITY FROM JAPAN'S POINT OF VIEW OF PARTICIPATION IN NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE AND IN PREPARATORY CONFERENCE IF POSSIBLE. NISHIBORI SAID TO HAVE BRIEFED CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY NIKAIDO WITH FONMIN OHIRA'S CONCURRENCE, AND THIS HAS SOME INFLUENCE ON TANAKA'S DECISION.

4. ADDITIONAL FACTOR QUOTED WAS PRESENT OIL PROBLEM. GOJ HAS NOW COME TO REALIZE THAT OIL IS POLITICAL WEAPON AND CAN SEE  
SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 16066 121034Z

POSSIBILITY THAT NUCLEAR FUEL MAY ALSO BE USED POLITICALLY IN FUTURE; THIS IS TAKEN TO MEAN THAT NONRATIFICATION OF NPT MIGHT DAMAGE JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH US IN WAY THAT MIGHT INTERFERE IN LATER YEARS WITH FUEL FOR REACTORS AND THIS IS SAID TO BE POLITICAL FACTOR MEANINGFUL TO POLITICIANS AND OTHERS ALIKE.

5. IN SPITE OF THESE REASONS FOR POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON NPT, ONE SOURCE SAID THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN EXPECTED IN GOVERNMENT THAT TANAKA WOULD GO SO FAR AS TO PRESENT TREATY TO DIET IN PRESENT SESSION. RATHER, THEY HAD EXPECTED OHIRA WOULD ANSWER QUESTION IN DIET WITH MORE GENERAL "FORWARD LOOKING" STATEMENT AIMED AT PACIFYING PROPONENTS OF RATIFICATION WITHOUT OFFENDING OPPONENTS. THERE WAS THEREFORE SOME SUR-

PRISE AT TANAKA'S CLEAR STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD ASK FOR RATIFICATION BY CURRENT SESSION. DECISION APPARENTLY NOT CLEARED WITH ALL PARTY LEADERS IN ADVANCE. HOUR OR TWO AFTER DIET STATEMENT, NAKASONE TOLD CHARGE AND ZURHELLEN THAT STATEMENT HAD GONE TOO FAR IN HIS VIEW AND THAT OF SOME OTHER PARTY MEN; IT WAS ONE THING FOR TANAKA TO INTRODUCE BILL, IT WOULD BE ANOTHER TO GET IT PASSED. NAKASONE WAS SOMEWHAT BITTER, REFERRING TO NPT AS "GREAT POWER" DICTATE, AND SAID NONNUCLEAR WEAPON STATES HAD RIGHT TO GREATER GUARANTEES AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK OR THREATS BEFORE NPT WOULD BE EQUAL TREATY. OTHER SOURCES, HOWEVER, DOUBTED NAKASONE WOULD CARRY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS TREATY TO FINAL OPPOSITION BECAUSE HE WOULD TEND TO BE ISOLATED IN GENERAL CLIMATE OF APPROVAL.

6. QUESTION OF WHY TANAKA CHOSE THIS MOMENT, IN MIDST OF OTHER PROBLEMS WITH CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF LDP AND SEVERE PROBLEMS OF INFLATION AND OIL SHORTAGES IS INTRIGUING MATTER FOR SPECULATION. WE CAN ASSUME HE WAS CONVINCED OF DESIRABILITY OF RATIFICATION AND ALSO OF PARTICIPATION IN PREPARATORY CONFERENCE. HE PROBABLY CHOSE TO CIRCUMVENT RATHER WELL-ORGANIZED OPPOSITION IN LDP AND CABINET (PARTICULARLY NAKASONE) BY GOING PUBLIC. TANAKA CLEARLY ACHIEVED AN ADVANTAGE AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING BY CHOOSING THIS TACTIC. QUESTIONS STILL REMAIN WHETHER STEAM WILL BE SUFFICIENTLY BEHIND NPT TO GET RATIFICATION IN THIS DIET SESSION. NEVERTHELESS, PROPONENTS OF RATIFICATION SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN  
SECRET

PAGE 04 TOKYO 16066 121034Z

HEART FROM TANAKA'S DECISION TO MOVE AHEAD AND APPEAR OPTIMISTIC THAT RATIFICATION WILL NOW TAKE PLACE AT LEAST PRIOR TO REVIEW CONFERENCE IN EARLY 1975.  
SHOESMITH

SECRET

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